

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Directorate of Intelligence  
20 June 1967

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Arab-Israeli Situation Report  
(As of 4:30 p.m. EDT)

UNITED NATIONS

1. The usual behind-the-scenes conferences have been given added fillip by the presence of Kosygin and other high-level dignitaries. Kosygin himself was scheduled to meet this afternoon with the French and Indian foreign ministers [redacted]

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[redacted] The Latin American working group, which met with Italy, Canada, Austria, Norway, Ireland, and Japan yesterday, was to do so again today, and is considering establishing contact with the Francophone African states and other Africans not firmly committed to the Arabs. [redacted]

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2. While it is probably too early to judge voting sentiment, several delegations have told the US mission that they do not believe the Soviet resolution in its present form would pass if, indeed, the Russians intend to push it to a vote. However, there is also the widespread belief that the resolution, if reduced to a simple, unconditional withdrawal proposal, would have a good chance of achieving a two-thirds majority. The Japanese, for example, have said they were surprised at the extent of support for such a proposal among Asian countries -- some of which have said heretofore that simple withdrawal

State Dept. review completed

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is no answer. Similar estimates have been made by the Latin American group, and there is a general impression that the African OCAM states may constitute the decisive voting contingent. According to the US mission, some of the essentially pro-Israel OCAM delegates have indicated it would be hard to resist a simple withdrawal of forces call.

3. There is thus far no reaction to the resolution introduced by Ambassador Goldberg today, but several quarters have expressed the view that the US is not in a good position to develop support for any resolution of which it is the identifiable author. Prospects for drawing support away from a simple withdrawal resolution would therefore appear to depend in good part on the efforts of "neutral" quarters to develop alternative proposals. According to the US mission, Chile is meeting today with Italy, Austria, Mexico, and Japan to consider a draft resolution which would deal with respect for existence and territorial integrity of the states in the Middle East, maritime rights, troop withdrawal refugees, the future status of Jerusalem, a UN presence in the area, and cooperation among the countries there.

4. Most of the delegations in New York appear on balance to have been unimpressed by Kosygin's address to the Assembly yesterday, although for differing reasons. Those who hoped for constructive proposals are disappointed, the Arabs feel let down, and many wonder "why Kosygin came so far to deliver a non-spectacular speech." With few exceptions, however, most delegates considered the speech conciliatory and many were struck by the references to Israel's right to statehood and to the desirability of parties to the dispute finding a "common language." Western European press comment, although highly divided, tends also to look for some evidence in Kosygin's speech of a search for a common ground with the US.

5. Preliminary reaction at the UN to President Johnson's speech, reported yesterday by the US mission, was generally favorable, except from the "unfriendlies"

Representatives of Turkey, Honduras, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Italy, Peru, and Nigeria described the speech as "calm, constructive and making good points." Several delegates commented that the 5-point summary was the most concise statement of view so far. The Arabs did not like the speech; a "moderate" Arab at the UN is reported to have claimed the Arabs were "utterly dismayed" by it and that the US has now "had it." A Moroccan representative, however, thought the speech was "very good in tone," although he went on to make it clear that the US should realize that nothing in the way of negotiations can be undertaken until Israeli troops have withdrawn. Canadian Prime Minister Pearson, meanwhile, endorsed the President's five points. In Commons, he called the President "very sound" in linking Israeli withdrawal with commitments for Israel's future.

6. Western press comment received so far seems, on balance, to find the President's speech statesman-like in containing elements for a realistic solution and proposals for concessions on both sides. In London, the Financial Times says that the speech contains, "discreetly but unmistakably," a word of warning to the Israeli government. The paper notes that the President's insistence on the territorial integrity and political independence of all of the states in the area is "no longer just a pledge of support for Israel's existence, but also a reminder that there are other states in the Middle East who have a right to this integrity and this independence."

7. West German papers generally contrast the President's speech very favorably to Kosygin's. Die Welt notes that the President's statement spoiled Kosygin's "original plan" to turn the Assembly into a tribunal and comments further that both the US and the USSR have left open the possibility of concerted action. The Frankfurter Allgemeine said "no American statesman could have made a more objective and moderate speech." Several papers also believe, however, there is little room for understanding either with the Soviets or the Arabs on a proposal to avert a renewed arms race.

8. Havana radio referred to the President's speech as "colorless" and "full of generalities." It stated the speech was "aimed at neutralizing in some way the mounting wave of accusations of world opinion" and lacked "a single word in condemnation of the aggressors."

9. Cairo and Damascus radio were predictably damning of the President's speech, which confirmed the US' "aggressive insistence on supporting the Israeli aggression and on making efforts to impose gains for its Zionist gang at the Arabs' expense."

10. An Israeli radio commentary said the President's speech strengthens the impression that the White House is determined not to submit to Arab pressure to to Soviet threats. Most of the Israeli papers see in the President's speech an expression of the desire to reach a realistic solution, and all denounce Kosygin's speech. Haaretz hopes that the US delegation to the UN will firmly adhere to the main principles outlined by President Johnson.

#### SOVIET ACTIVITIES

11. The Soviets are making another gesture of support for the Arabs by sending President Podgorny on a sudden trip to Cairo. Podgorny is to arrive tomorrow -- probably with authority to take up substantive matters with Nasir as well as make a public display of Moscow's sympathy for the Arabs. Both sides probably need to take stock again of each other's intentions regarding new moves in the present crisis.

12. Press reports say that Podgorny intends to stop in Yugoslavia today on his way to Cairo. The Soviets, because of Tito's friendship with Nasir, probably consider it politic to solicit his views before seeing the Egyptian president. The Middle East crisis brought Tito to Moscow on 9 June -- along with other East European Communists -- to sign a common declaration for the first time since his ouster from the Bloc in 1948. Also, Moscow probably counts on Tito to help influence the non-aligned states to support the Communist position on the Arab-Israeli situation.

13. In Moscow today, General Secretary Brezhnev reported to a plenum of the party central committee on Middle East developments. TASS said only that Brezhnev's report was "on the situation in the Middle East in connection with the aggression of Israel." It also listed a half a dozen other speakers in the "deliberations" but no texts have thus far been released. With Premier Kosygin in New York and Podgorny on his way to Cairo, all three of the top Soviet leaders now have platforms from which to speak out against Israel. The meeting is expected to end tomorrow.

14. The only Soviet comment of any consequence yet received on yesterday's speech by President Johnson was carried by TASS, which sums up the President's remarks as confirming the aggressive nature of US foreign policy. TASS denies the speech contributes anything constructive, calling it a "whitewash" of Israel's policy and actions. It mentions the various points outlined by the President, but claims that these words are contradicted by American acts. With regard to the arms race, it accuses the President of "turning a blind eye to the fact that for several years the US and other Western powers had increased deliveries of modern arms and ammunition to Israel. The statement ends with the claim that the only way to move toward a lasting peace in the area is to condemn Israel and "liquidate the aftermaths of the aggression."

## FRENCH ATTITUDES

17. Georges Broussine, an often well-informed Gaullist journalist, is taking the line that France, recognizing the impossibility of bridging the gap between its impartial position and the Soviet engagement in favor of the Arabs, is most concerned with preventing the split from affecting Franco-Soviet relations and De Gaulle's hopes for a broader European detente. Broussine points out that both sides at this point have reason to be disappointed with each other -- Paris because the Soviets rejected the call for quadripartite talks and Moscow because the French failed to support its Security Council resolution directed against Israel. In the context of the General Assembly, French reluctance to further antagonize the Soviets might lead them to abstain rather than vote against Soviet propositions which are in direct conflict with the French position.

## ARAB STATES

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19. In his press conference yesterday, King Husayn emphasized Arab unity and plans to be worked out at the proposed Arab summit as the best way to solve current Arab problems. He reiterated that the West Bank is an integral part of not only Jordan but of the "Arab Nation", praised the military support received from Iraq, apparently did not mention Syria, did mention that a UAR unit fought in Jordan and "as for the fraternal Saudi forces, they arrived late." Husayn said that a major factor in the Israeli victory was their massive air power, and that Jordanian radar indicated that Jordan faced other large scale forces in addition to Israel. Husayn declined to accuse anybody, however.

20. The situation in Jerusalem and the West Bank appears to be settling down gradually. Public transportation buses are now running between towns and

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villages West of the Jordan River and many private automobiles are reported to be on the road. Most stores in Jerusalem and towns in the West Bank area are now open and essential public utilities have been restored. Barricades separating the old from the new city of Jerusalem are being demolished along with old ruined buildings in no-man's land. There are even rumors that some Jews have returned to the Jewish Quarter of the old city. The Israelis are reported to be successfully using the municipal governments in existence before 5 June to control the West Bank communities. While the Jews have not been welcomed with open arms in the former Arab held territories, at least there is no apparent public resistance.

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